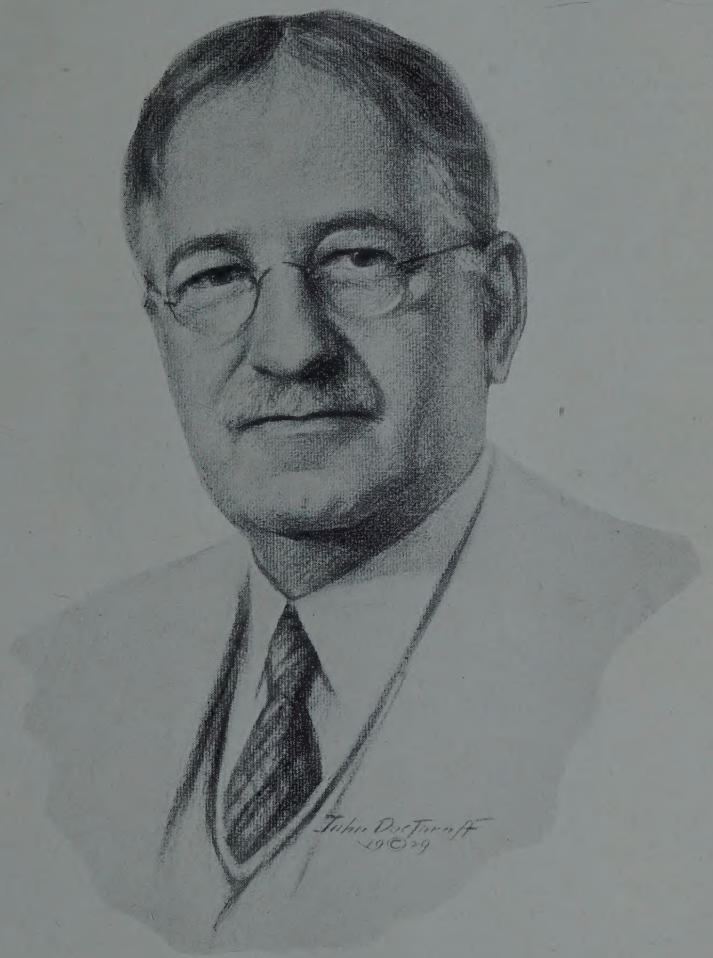
UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION



In Memoriam
Salmon O. Levinson
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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Editor* CURTIS W. REESE, *Managing Editor*

Declaration

In this time of growing tension of opinion and intolerance of spirit, it is appropriate that UNITY should reaffirm its position as a journal of liberal opinion.

UNITY is interested in no political party or platform, is bound to no school of philosophy or theology, is the organ of no sect or denomination, and is the voice of no organized movement. Rather is UNITY dedicated to certain underlying principles, namely, freedom, fellowship, and character in religion. It seeks the fulfilment of certain ideals, namely, representative democracy, peace, brotherhood, the commonwealth of man which is the kingdom of God on earth.

In dedication to its principles and in pursuit of its ideals, UNITY maintains the rule of liberty. Its editors, editorial contributors, and correspondents speak with unfettered freedom the convictions of their own minds within the general framework of a journal of liberal opinion. The writers of articles, reviews, and poems present their own ideas, which may, at times, be at variance with those of the editors. UNITY would repress no utterance and control no argument that is competent and honest, for it is skeptical of conformity and averse to authority, which always tend to hamper individual liberty. It is happy in those diversities of gifts and ideas which are the glory of the one spirit.

In this period of trial and crisis, UNITY would unite anew its editors and readers in the service of *Character* which is the substance of religion, *Freedom* which is its life, and *Fellowship* which is its goal. Thus would we vindicate our country, our civilization, our culture, religious and lay, in a period when all alike are threatened with extinction.

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The Meaning of Outlawry
Curtis W. Reese

The idea of the outlawry of war is one of those epoch-making ideas that come only at infrequent intervals in the life of mankind. Salmon O. Levinson was the father of this idea and of a plan for its realization. In 1917 Mr. Levinson realized as he had not before that the nations and the peoples of the world were in the grip of a monster system which they did not like, which they feared and hated, but which they seemed utterly powerless to control. He reflected that this system was supported by four-fifths of the international law then in existence; that it was enriched by the overwhelming percentage of the budgets of the nations; and that it was glorified in the press, in the pulpit, and the textbooks of the world. He saw the practical impossibility of regulating the war system and realized that it must either be accepted or outlawed. Believing as he did that all great questions are at bottom moral issues Mr. Levinson felt that law should be found on the moral side of the war problem. After much reflection he conceived the idea of putting the weight of international law on the side of opposition to war by means of outlawry. This meant a complete facing about. Whereas the nations had from time immemorial marched foolishly but legally in the direction of war, Mr. Levinson's idea was that they should face about completely and march intelligently and legally in the direction of peace.

The three essentials of outlawry are: (1) agreement by international treaty to renounce war as an instrument of national policy; (2) codification of international law on the basis of outlawry; and (3) establishment of a world supreme court with affirmative jurisdiction.

When Briand wrote to Mr. Kellogg, who was then American Secretary of State, proposing a bilateral treaty, he used the term "outlawry" and referred to it as an American term. After much discussion, in which Mr. Levinson participated in a large way, the Briand proposal was extended into a multilateral treaty and was signed by practically all the nations of the world. Unfortunately the second and third essentials of outlawry are steps that were not taken. Had they been, perhaps the present state of international affairs could have been avoided.

In his advocacy of the outlawry of war, Mr. Levinson was so far out in front that the world has not yet caught up with him. Time will yet be required for the world to realize the importance of the renouncing of war as an instrument of national policy; to evolve new international laws based on outlawry; and to establish world machinery for giving expression to enlightened and civilized public opinion on the question of war. Undoubtedly the Pact of Paris will one day be regarded as among the mountain peaks of human history.

As truly as it was said of Abraham Lincoln, so can it be said of Salmon O. Levinson, "He belongs to the ages."

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

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EDITORIAL

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Salmon Oliver Levinson, famous lawyer and distinguished public citizen, was born in Noblesville, Indiana, on December 29, 1865. His father, a Jewish immigrant, was a small merchant in Noblesville, highly respected by all of his fellow townsmen. Mr. Levinson retained great affection for his birthplace throughout the whole period of his life, frequently returned to the town, and maintained regular contact with its affairs. In all matters affecting the welfare of the community, he was a wise adviser and an unfailingly generous benefactor.

Educated in the public schools, Salmon Levinson went to Yale College, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1888. He studied for the law at Lake Forest University, Indiana, where he was graduated in 1891. In later years the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was twice conferred upon him, by Grinnell College in 1929, and by DePauw University in 1930.

Shortly after opening his law office in Chicago in the year 1894, Mr. Levinson married Helen Bartlett Haire, who died ten years later, in 1904. There were three children of this marriage, Horace, Ronald, and Helen. In 1914 Mr. Levinson married, as his second wife, Ruth Langworthy, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by whom he had one son, John.

Successful from the first in the practice of the law, Mr. Levinson organized the firm of Levinson, Becker, Peebles, and Swiren, which became in due course one of the great law offices of the nation. As the head of this office, he specialized in the reorganization of railroads, banks, and industrial corporations. His reorganization of the Westinghouse Companies and of George Westinghouse's own personal affairs, in 1908, was one of the great cases of its day. It placed Mr. Levinson indisputably at the head of his profession in this important and difficult field, where he remained for a generation, until his retirement and death. He was always handling large cases, such as the St. Louis and San Francisco R. R. Company in 1915, and the C. & E. I. Railway in 1921. Along with these purely business and professional cases, he not infrequently took up cases involving the interests of friends and associates, and as a sheer gesture of generous good will saved invaluable properties in jeopardy of disruption, foreclosure, bankruptcy, or other ruin. I know whereof I speak in this matter, for it was to the rescue of my church, the Community Church of New York, wrecked in the depression by the collapse of a new building enterprise, that he sprang in 1934, and saved land, buildings, and investments from total loss. This he did at the distance of a thousand miles, through a period of four years, at a cost of time, strength, and large sums of money for personal expenses, and, when the job was triumphantly done, would take nothing for his pains. I had the inestimable privilege in those trying days of seeing him at work, and studying his principles and methods. Inexhaustible vitality, tireless energy, patience, tact and swift audacity, scrupulous fairness in negotiation, unshakable integrity which won instant trust, an overpowering intensity of absorption in the task in hand, an uncanny skill in handling all sorts and conditions of men, a mind masterful in its ability to see mutual interests where others saw only conflicting claims—these were the qualities of genius which explain his success. To have a case taken to court was to him humiliation and failure. To have a case settled at a round-table, with all interests protected and all parties content, was his constant aim and his almost unvarying achievement.

Until 1914 Mr. Levinson was active only in law. Then, at the very peak of his professional prestige and influence, there came the shock of the Great War. Though never a pacifist, Mr. Levinson hated war for its immeasurable waste and woe. But what particularly impressed him was its futility and folly. After all, there was nothing but disputes between nations involved in these conflicts of arms—just such disputes as he was constantly settling between banks and corporations. Why should they not be settled by discussion, adjustment, and agreement? Why should diplomats and statesmen confess defeat by passing over their business to soldiers? His mind saw clearly these international catastrophies in the legal frame with which he was familiar. Unique among peace-workers, he

approached the whole disastrous problem of war from the standpoint of legal precedent and practice, and therewith conceived his original and now immortal idea of the outlawry of war. Nothing can be accomplished in this field, was his contention, until war has been outlawed as a crime—as infanticide, slavery, dueling, have all been outlawed!—and thus made punishable under the law of nations. The mere formal act of outlawry will not end war, as he well knew. But it is now the initial step, he contended, without which nothing (*sine qua non*)!

Once captured by this idea, he studied it, formulated it, established it by fact and argument, and then proclaimed it to the world. There were few to hear in the beginning—his first expository article in the *New Republic* attracted little attention. But converts and champions soon began to appear: John Dewey, John Bassett Moore, Raymond Robins and Charles Clayton Morrison. Soon Mr. Levinson was going to Washington, and hammering his idea into the heads of Senator Knox, Senator Borah, Secretary of State Kellogg, and many others. Later he went abroad, to London and Paris, and saw Premier Briand, Lord Lothian, and other great figures in European life. Always he was conducting extensive correspondence with Presidents Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge, and with cabinet officers in this country and Europe, with Congressmen, members of Parliament, journalists, scholars, and social leaders. The record of these herculean labors is contained in two enormous piles of documents and letters, nearly 100,000 in number, now deposited in the library of the University of Chicago. Victory came with the signing of the Pact of Paris, August 27, 1928. Seldom has such an achievement been wrought by a single man, in such great matters, in so short a period of time. If it seemed to be undone by the outbreak of this second war, "it is but for a time," as Browning's *Paracelsus* puts it. "[It] will emerge one day."

Mr. Levinson's labors for outlawry were accompanied by similar labors for the readjustment of German reparations, the settlement of allied and interallied debts, European appeasement, and world peace. For years he was in direct personal contact with the leading statesmen of our western world. Seldom has a private citizen been so important in the public affairs of this nation and of the world. He sought no offices or favors. He asked no recognitions and rewards. He was glad to have others, in official life, enjoy the credit which was properly his own. Yet he received honors—for example, the Rosenberger Medal, presented by the University of Chicago in 1931, "for outstanding service to humanity," and the *Croix de Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur,* presented by the Republic of France in 1934.

Throughout his life, Salmon Levinson was interested in all kinds of work for human betterment. Always he contributed liberally to local and national charitable, philanthropic, educational, and reform societies. Every wise and farseeing movement in the public interest had his sympathy and support. Never a radical, he was essentially liberal in spirit. His interests, like his friendships, were never hobbled by any slightest arrogance or intolerance of personal opinion. His opinions were stoutly, ably, at times fiercely, held; but never offered impediment to affection and deep personal devotion. His greatest benefaction was the gift of $50,000 to the University of Idaho for the establishment of the William E. Borah Outlawry of War Foundation. Although a liberal Jew in his religious training and association, he was never bound to the synagogue. If Rabbi Hirsch was an intimate friend and counselor, so also were Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Jane Addams. To Abraham Lincoln Centre he was generously devoted. To UNITY he gave for years his personal care and lavish gifts of money.

In his home Mr. Levinson loved nothing quite so much as to play the host to friends and kindred. Wrapt in the adoring love of wife and children, he shared abundantly with others whatever was his own. As his children grew up from the nursery to the schoolroom, he gathered a great library of some 15,000 volumes, that all the best of the world's literature might be at their instant disposal. He himself was a tireless reader of newspapers, magazines, learned journals, and the best books old and new. He had a passion for music and the drama, and a delight in baseball. His golf game was for years an object of intense personal concern. His conversation was as tireless as his physical activities, and as thrilling as oratory or the stage. In body, intellect, and spirit, he was a truly great man—and as good as he was great.

Mr. Levinson's health began to fail some months before his death. Ailing steadily, he passed away with unexpected suddenness in the early morning hours of Sunday, February 2, 1941. He was buried from the Divinity School Chapel of the University of Chicago on the afternoon of Tuesday, February 4, Rabbi Louis I. Mann, Dr. Charles E. Gilkey, and myself officiating. My tribute spoken at the funeral is printed on another page.

"It is a simple fact of history that the Kellogg-Briand Pact is the work of Mr. Levinson. Not only did he originate the idea, and the very phrase "outlawry of war," but it is solely due to his persistent efforts, both at Washington and in Europe, that it became possible to embody that idea in the Pact of Paris.

"Through twenty years of constant association with him, my sense of his rare combination of the highest idealism with the finest practical efficiency grew ever deeper and clearer. Friendship with him has been, and remains, one of life's noblest gifts to me."

Horace J. Bridges.

"Whatever He Did He Did with All His Might"

WINIFRED RIEBER

"California, here I come!" There was a welcoming ring in the voice, a noisy patter of feet descending the stairs, and Sol Levinson blew into the room like a western breeze. There he stood—both hands outstretched, radiating energy and heart-warming hospitality.

I, an old friend, had crossed the continent to paint his portrait and chanced to arrive on the day of days; a day long, long ago when we believed in miracles. A day when the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact was signed. The day war was outlawed, and we were promised a World Court, arbitration, and sanity. A day of great rejoicing.

Telegrams and cablegrams poured in upon Mr. Levinson from all over the world, swelling his heart with gratitude, covering him with a shy, blustering confusion. It was good after so many years of hard work, and discouragement, to be recognized as a silent partner in the cause of peace. And still—he found it most embarrassing. He was not prepared for all this attention, and he was having great difficulty with a lump in his throat. It was plain to see that he was a man of infinite tenderness, that he had a great capacity for happiness, and the undefinable, unteachable gift of complete naturalness.

Whatever he did he did with all his might. When he played "Big Bad Wolf" with his grandchildren, he tore around the room on his hands and knees with such terrifying huffs and puffs that the "Three Little Pigs" took to their heels with blood-curdling, hair-raising squeals and plunged under chairs and into dark corners with such disastrous result that the game had to be discontinued as a bedtime performance.

When he played golf, he went into the game with a "do or die" purpose in his eye that brooked no interference from lesser things—such as appointments with portrait painters. If the day was too dark and stormy for golf, he would show up at the studio on time, full of contrition and apologies for the weather. "No," he would gently explain, "one can never count upon the weather in Maine, it just isn't California, and you'll jolly well have to make up your mind to it."

His intentions were sound. His temptation was great. When he stepped out into a gay sunshiny morning, all tuned to his temperament, the grass greeted him with a "come hither" fragrance. The birds swooped by inviting him to freedom. The waves pounded on the long smooth beach and dared him to buck up—be a man—and enjoy his hard-earned vacation time in Kennebunk. And there stood his golf clubs—waiting. He grasped one and gave it an experimental swing. "Oh well—after all," he reasoned, "the shortest way to that confounded studio is the longest way around the golf course." He took it. By the time he finally reached his destination, his face—more often than not—evidenced defeat, grim resolution, and high blood pressure.

Aside from golf complication he was not an easy person to paint. To begin with, he had an inordinate admiration for his dear friend David Starr Jordan and an unreasonable desire to look like him. He was a good lawyer; he knew how to plead his case. "Now see here!" he said, "This portrait is for my family. I don't know why they insist upon having it, but they are set on it, and I can't do anything about it—it's just one of those things a man has to accept. Frankly, I don't like to sit here like a stuffed dummy—but I'm doing the best I can." Then turning on all his charm—"Now can't you, my old friend, help my dear family to remember me sitting here in my home, at ease, happy, contented? After all you know, I do have my kind and meditative moments." A long pause while he waited for the idea to sink in. Then he began to warm up in earnest—"And yet, you insist upon painting me perched on the edge of my chair engaged in violent argument. Now, after all, you know, this is your job—not mine. It's up to you to catch me in one of my gentler moods, when I'm not pounding on the table. Now, how's this?" His eyes grew dreamy. A benign, if somewhat artificial, smile lighted his kind face. "Hold it!" I cried. He laughed—then returned to the attack with disarming frankness. "I know that I'm not very interesting. I'm just what I seem to be. But still—now take that portrait you painted of Dr. Jordan. I suppose you'll never believe it, but I feel just like that inside. Can't you see what I mean? Do you think it would help if I put on my hat and sort of threw my face in shadow?" He jumped up, made a tour of the room, grumbling as he searched about, "Can't seem to find my hat anywhere! But"—picking up his golf cap and pulling it well down over his eyes—"I guess this will give you the idea. How does it strike you? Yes?" he interrogated, peering at me from his Rembrandt shadow. I shook my head. "No! Well the no's have it. All right then—do the best you can with the material at hand." He took off his cap, threw it on the floor and resigned himself to the unreasoning blindness of a portrait painter. After a brief interval of relaxation, his back suddenly stiffened. He snatched his watch from his pocket, glanced at it, and fired his last shot: "Where's Ruth?" he demanded.

It was a well-established and widely accepted fact that he either could not or would not endure long without the presence of his beloved wife. She was his staff and his light. She was also mine—I soon found that when she failed to appear, I might as well clean my pallet, wash my brushes, and call it a day.

If I had but known then what I know now, I should have been able to paint a better portrait. I should have known that portraiture has more to do with the realities of the spirit than it has with physical appearance. And I should not have brushed away so lightly a man's inner knowledge of himself.

It was reserved for me to stand in the presence of my friend Salmon Levinson when he was very ill. All the physical barriers were down and I looked directly into the depth and serenity of his great and generous soul.

In moments such as these one is given a sense of eternity. The door opens and one goes forward unafraid.

Auf wiedersehen Sol—auf baldiges wiedersehen.

Hope in the Supremacy of Law

JOHN DEWEY

If I say something about Mr. Levinson as a person before saying anything about his public activities and services, it is because in his death I have lost not only a very dear friend, but, with only two or three exceptions, my oldest friend. I became acquainted with him in 1895 when I moved with my family from Ann Arbor to Chicago. His first wife, Nelly Haire, had been, when a student at the University of Michigan, an intimate friend of my wife, who was a student there at the same time. It was natural that we should renew acquaintance when we went to Chicago to live. In this way we formed the friendship with Salmon Levinson —with "Sol"—which in spite of my removal to New York in 1905 continued unimpaired, and the memory of which is one of the great satisfactions of my life.

No one can have known him without being deeply impressed by two things—his generosity and his energy. Indeed, they were not two things but one. He was gifted with generous outgoing energy, and with untiring energy in the performance of generous deeds. He was vitally interested in whatever his friends were interested in. He gave himself as well as his material means to promote their interests whenever an opportunity presented itself. His large personal gifts, such as that to the University of Idaho as a memorial to the work of Senator Borah for promoting the plan for international outlawry of war, are matters of public record. No one can tell of his multitude of personal kind acts save the many persons who were helped by them. There is such a thing as the doling out of gifts of money as if they were a sort of purely financial transaction. If I speak of money—gifts in connection with "Sol," it is because his generosity in relation to money was so much a part of himself. I have never known another man to whom the possession of money was so spontaneously and intimately an opportunity.

The life-energy that went into promotion of the cause of international peace was as unremitting as it was abundant. I do not know just the date at which it began nor just what was the original occasion of that devotion of his to the cause of peace, a devotion that was religious in quality. I know that as a man of German descent he was deeply shocked by the action of Germany in starting the World War in 1914; and that from the start he was intensely concerned with every form of activity that might bring that war to an honorable and just settlement. The failure to arrive, after the close of the war, at a settlement whose terms would tend to establish permanent amicable relationships among European nations, was a great disappointment to him. But he did not permit it to dampen his energies. In earlier years, he had been inclined to the program of the League to Enforce Peace. But events taught him that the effort to maintain peace by use of armed force was in effect a perpetuation of the war system. His vigorous campaign against our joining the League of Nations was caused not only by the terms of the Versailles treaty with which the League was in many ways bound up, but even more by the clauses in its Code that called for the use of arms, for war, under certain conditions.

His devotion to peace was complete. But it was not of the sentimental so-called pacifist variety. He knew that peace goes contrary to the war tradition and war system that for the past history of the world has controlled the settlement of disputes between nations—either overtly or by threats to a weaker nation. He knew that peace had to be implemented. But he felt very deeply that it was suicidal to try to implement it by recourse to "sanctions" that were, in effect, part of the war system. The supremacy of law offered the only hope he saw. He favored every measure of arbitration and conciliation. But he was too realistic to believe that they were an adequate guaranty of peace save as they rest upon an underlying foundation of the acceptance by all the great nations of the world of rule of international affairs by agreed-upon law. His experience in negotiation of large business disputes aided him to reach a firm conclusion that, given a sound judicial basis, the method of negotiation, of conference, and of concession, could become a powerful instrumentality in settling controversies in a way that left behind no permanent bitterness. His breadth of sympathies is indicated to me by the fact that so much of his legal service went to rehabilitate and reorganize large industrial concerns that were in financial difficulty. It is not necessary to say that recent events in international affairs saddened and depressed Mr. Levinson. Yet, while his long illness has prevented personal contact, and letters have been few and far between, I am confident that he did not lose his faith in the ultimate triumph of the idea of peace based upon the rule of law in human affairs.

I cannot close without expressing my heartfelt sympathy to the members of the family that feel his loss most acutely. But they and all the many friends of Mr. Levinson have the consolation of memory of a great, a buoyantly active, and generous human being.

A Benefactor of Mankind

QUINCY WRIGHT

The outstanding characteristic of Salmon O. Levinson was his vigor in realizing high ideals. An ideal once accepted, became for him a firm conviction. He believed war was hell, that it could be eliminated, and that the first step was its delegalization or outlawry.

The first time I met him was at the meeting of the Harris Institute at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1924. There had been discussion among the conferees, several of whom were Europeans, of the maneuvers of post-war diplomacy, of the balance of power, of the League of Nations. Mr. Levinson cut in vigorously:

> This is the vital question on which there can be no compromise: either the world will be ruled and ruined by war or it will not. Under the present system war is legal, protected and reinforced by the most powerful laws known to man: martial law, espionage laws, conscription laws. Dare to get in the way of war and you will find how powerful it is and how weak you are. . . . War rests on these prem-

ises: the love of power and a lot of phrases which don't mean anything. . . . By treaty we would crystallize the popular sentiment against war and make it a crime.

His direct approach was something of a bomb but it stimulated thought. The idea seemed so simple to him that he was shocked to discover how few people had it. After ten years of telling the world by personal exposition, by 40,000 letters, by organizational activity, by publications, by stimulus of associates in the Senate and out, by conference with the world's statesmen in America and abroad, the idea was formally ratified by sixty-three governments in the Kellogg-Briand Pact. It was the most widely ratified treaty in history. According to the Counselor of the Department of State:

The historians will place him among the most active of those who during the years prior to the date of the Pact of Paris endeavored to bring about international collective action to make an end of war. (The Courier, University of Chicago, Friends of the Library, March, 1939.)

There are those who say that the Pact has failed. It has been repeatedly violated. It was too ideal for this imperfect world, say many. But the Pact bids fair to have a long history. Mr. Levinson himself did not expect the millennium upon its ratification. He realized that acceptance of a principle is a long way from acting upon it. He was convinced, however, that a principle accepted might in time revolutionize behavior.

The non-recognition by the United States and other nations of conquests by the aggressors is based upon the Pact and was in fact a form of sanction suggested by Mr. Levinson. Within the last few weeks the United States has based one of the most momentous bits of national legislation in its history upon the Pact. The Senate and House Committees on Foreign affairs and the administration explicitly justified the Lend-Lease Act because of the freedom given by the Pact of Paris to act against a violator of that instrument in disregard of rules of neutrality which would, apart from the Pact, have been obligatory.

The long-run consequences of Mr. Levinson's idea have only begun to unfold. Gradually opinion, law, policy, and administrative acts of governments will shape themselves to the idea that war is illegal. The world will gradually emerge from the anarchy implicit in the rights of war and neutrality into a community in which violence is crime, or defense or police—in which international law and procedure support justice and order. In that long history the vision and energy of our fellow citizen will be recognized as the germinal factor.

In the early stages of his movement, Mr. Levinson had not himself thought through all the implications of his idea. He grew with his campaigning. He reformulated his program as problems were met. After the Pact was ratified his activity never flagged. The implications of his idea were applied to the problem of war debts, to the world court situation, to sanctions, to the aggressions.

This youthful readiness to learn was a characteristic which stayed with him to the end. While he never let go of his central idea that war is illegal, he was ready to modify earlier opinions on the means for achievement. Anyone's sincere opinion was grist to his mill. He was glad to discuss the great problems with laborers and school teachers as well as with statesmen, diplomats, and jurists. His last years were saddened by the continued violence of war but he never doubted that things would improve. In September, 1940, he wrote me:

With the desperate effort Hitler is now making to crush the British people by terrorization and indiscriminate destruction, calling it by the fake name of "retaliation," we must not do anything that will aid Germany, directly or indirectly, no matter how hard the refusal may be.

The vigor of his exposition of his point of view never betrayed him into discourtesy. He was a debater in the best sense of the word, one who debated the issues while he respected the personality of his opponent. With all his keenness in legal analysis and in the handling of ideas, he was a humanist who liked people and was always loyal to his friends. He was a reformer to whom the cause was more than any personal glory. In his public activities he never hesitated to fade into the background while others of political position reaped the public acclaim. If the cause prospered he was sufficiently rewarded. I never heard him make a disparaging remark about another person, though his opposition to ideas which he detested was always emphatic.

He gave his huge collection of letters and documents dealing with the outlawry of war movement to the University of Chicago. This material has already been used in important researches. It remains a rich store for future study of one of the most momentous chapters in mankind's upward struggle and a record of the personality and activities of a great fighter for peace, an astute dialectician and leader of opinion, a modest gentleman and a benefactor of mankind.

He Loved Peace and Pursued It

STEPHEN S. WISE

I have known Mr. Levinson in relation to two causes, and in both of these he functioned with high ability, and indeed with statesmanship. His work in connection with the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact was pioneering of the highest type. His faith was unbounded, his courage unlimited, his work unsparing of self. Though the Pact, of which in a very real sense he was the author, failed to keep war out of the world, Salmon Levinson remained unembittered. He continued to plan, to hope, to dream, to serve without cessation, without discouragement, without fear.

I came to see something more of him in respect to another problem—a problem bound up with the difficulties which arose in connection with the building of the Community Church of New York. Surely it is no violation of confidence to say that the Church building and all its property might have been lost to the great congregation of Dr. John Haynes Holmes if Mr. Levinson had not acted with the most extraordinary vigor and persistence and wisdom. Sometimes it seemed as if Salmon Levinson were lacking in *suaviter in modo*, but herein he was conciliatoriness and tactfulness and consideration personified. The Community Church held to its possessions and was materially saved, as John Haynes Holmes has gloriously served it for more than a generation.

Peace abide with the memory of one who sought to magnify peace and was among the disciples of Aaron, who loved peace and pursued it.

Pact of Paris the Basis of U. S. Policy

WILLIAM HARD

Current enormous wars might seem on their surface to indicate that Salmon O. Levinson had expended the highest efforts of his life in vain. His was the personality, his was the moral force, that originated the conception of the legal outlawry of war and that drove it forward into its international world-wide expression in the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Today the violations of that Pact in both hemispheres have presented us with a series of wars that may perhaps presently envelop virtually the whole human race. Might it not then be said that the barricade erected by Mr. Levinson against the onrush of aggression was but a rhetorical mist of no effective substance or value?

The answer to that question, I think, is not to be found through concentration of thought upon aggressions by themselves. Violations of law, municipal or international, can never entirely cease. Legislation against robbery never totally extinguishes robbery. The legislation against war in the Kellogg-Briand Pact does not mean that no violators of it will ever appear. If it did have such a meaning and such a consequence, it would be a law utterly unique in the whole history of mankind. The true result of a just and recognized law is that against the violators of it there is aroused not only the natural but also the publicly justified and organized condemnation of the community.

Today we can see that sort of condemnation of Hitler and his fellow-aggressors slowly but surely taking stronger and stronger form all over the world and more particularly in our own country. Our public acts of numerous varieties against Hitler are quite without justification on the basis of any adherence to the old historical conception of neutrality. They can be defended, in law, only on the theory, and the fact, that Hitler is a violator of law, of public international binding law.

The Attorney General of the United States, speaking recently to an international body of lawyers at Havana, Cuba, openly and definitely grounded the policy of the United States on that principle. He said that the relations between governments and the rules of neutrality in time of war had been fundamentally altered by the terms of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. He said that the legal translation of aggressive war from a right into a crime had given a wholly new turn to neutral rights and duties. He said that now, and from now onward, the duties of neutrals had to be interpreted in the light of the outlawry of armed attack as a method for the solution of international difficulties.

In those words the highest law officer of the United States Government paid a basic tribute to the moral and legal statesmanship of Salmon O. Levinson and began the erection of a monument of national recognition to his memory. Napoleon was an aggressor and a glamorous conqueror. Hitler is an aggressor and a vulgar bandit beyond the bounds of any kind of acceptance or recognition. To that transition in human thought, a transition ultimately totally destructive of the aggressions of today, Salmon O. Levinson made a contribution that sets his name among the greatest names of our epochal generation.

I do not like, though, to think of him as a name. Many unworthy men have had names, great names. Many even wicked men have served great righteous causes for their personal purposes. I am glad that I am able to think of Salmon O. Levinson as a man whose services to the good sprang naturally from his own goodness. His passion for right and his wrath at wrong gave him a great deal of the almost terrifying quality of an Old Testament prophet. There was nothing weak or soft in his pursuit of the good and true. He had as much valor as he had vision. His gentleness and tenderness were accompanied by a prodigious combativeness on behalf of high causes written on his receptive and retentive heart. He had a soul and a sword. He had love and he had delight of battle against the things that would destroy love on earth. We need not try to commend him to God for his fame. We can simply truly say: To the top of the light of the spirit that God gave him he felt and he fought. What more could there be for epitaph or for prayer?

Tribute to a Friend

EDWARD R. BURKE

It was during the heat of the controversy over the proposal of President Roosevelt to enlarge the Supreme Court that I first came to know Salmon O. Levinson well. I shall never forget the vehemence with which he repudiated the contention that increased membership of the Court was being sought in the interest of efficiency and in particular to remove delays in the administration of justice. To his mind that was unmitigated sham. Above all else it was characteristic of him that he hated sham.

Mr. Levinson will, of course, be remembered primarily because of his constructive thinking and action in the cause of world peace. As I understood his reasoning it was simple and logical. War is wholly evil. Civilization is accustomed to control evil things by appropriate legislation. Therefore, to rid the world of the horror of recurring and bloody conflicts, the several nations should pass stringent laws outlawing war. Renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy must have caused the angels to sing.

Mr. Levinson recognized that it would be true here as in the case of all laws that effectiveness would depend upon the measure of public support that could be developed and maintained behind such legislation. To that educational process he devoted his best thought.

Others can speak with greater knowledge and authority upon the contribution of Mr. Levinson to the cause of world peace. But there was one interest dear to his heart in which he took me into his closest confidence. I was deeply concerned, as were all Americans,

at the rising tide of racial and religious persecutions. In particular, I wanted to know how far our people and our government were warranted in going in expressing opposition to this display of barbarism.

If horrible atrocities are perpetrated within a country, either with the open approval of the governing authorities or with an absence of effective control, is that a matter of internal policy with which no foreign nation has a right to concern itself? When I propounded that question to Mr. Levinson he immediately gave me the results of his comprehensive study on this very aspect of the case. It was so thoroughgoing and conclusive that I was glad to make full use of it.

There is a well-recognized moral responsibility of nations in such matters, he declared. There is a duty to summon the guilty parties before the bar of world-wide public opinion, there to have their crimes exposed and the condemnation of right-thinking men emphatically voiced. This is not an undue interference in the domestic affairs of another people. It is an obligation that rests upon each member of the entire family of civilized nations.

Mr. Levinson quoted to me from memory stirring words of Webster's spoken at a time when the whole world was aroused by shocking atrocities: "Gentlemen, there is something on earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power, and that is the aroused indignation of the civilized world."

Not often in recorded history has the world had greater occasion than at the time when we talked, to weep over the misery and suffering heaped upon helpless individuals whose only offense was that they differed from the prevailing dominant group in race, language, or religious belief. Salmon Levinson felt strongly that it is our right and duty to voice a vigorous moral protest whenever such acts of barbarism occur. He shared with John Quincy Adams the view that:

> This principle that a whole nation has a right to do whatever it pleases cannot in any sense whatever be admitted as true. The eternal and immutable laws of justice and of morality are paramount to all human legislation.

Mr. Levinson believed with all true Americans that there are spiritual ties which bind all men together regardless of race or creed, ties not woven by human policy, ties which cannot be cut asunder by human decrees. It has often been repeated by our noblest citizens that every community is responsible in a degree to all other communities for its laws and conduct; not responsible always to the point of being liable to the application of force, but ever in the sense of just exposure to reprobation and scorn.

Our own and succeeding generations have reason to be grateful to Salmon O. Levinson for the clarity of his thought, the forcefulness of his expression, and the unflagging zeal with which he espoused the cause of human liberty and the dignity and worth of the individual.

Some day war will be effectually outlawed. In some happier time all men will treat every human being as a brother. To the hastening of the coming of that glad day the friend we mourn contributed much.

The World Will Resume Levinson's Work

ALVIN JOHNSON

Recently America lost by death a great statesman, Salmon O. Levinson. He had been only an able and distinguished lawyer down to the first World War. The spectacle of an advanced civilization falling to ruin because of the survival of primitive conceptions of national sovereignty and of the legitimacy of war as an instrument of national policy drew Mr. Levinson from his preoccupation with private affairs to the launching of the most powerful peace movement of our time. As early as March, 1918, he published in the *New Republic* a proposal for the outlawry of war, an idea then universally regarded as fantastic. Immune to cynical ridicule Mr. Levinson went on vigorously with his propaganda, making converts in ever-widening circles: John Dewey, Senator Borah, Senator Knox, and eventually almost the whole Senate as well as tens and hundreds of thousands of other men of good will. In frequent visits to Europe Mr. Levinson came into close relations with Briand and Stresemann, bringing to their project of European peace the moral backing of America. He worked tirelessly to win the coöperaton of the British government, and in 1928 his work culminated in the Pact of Paris, by which fifteen signatory powers, including the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and Japan renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

For his part in carrying out Mr. Levinson's ideas another American statesman received a Nobel Prize. Mr. Levinson asked nothing, received nothing. Only a few intimate friends pledged to silence, knew anything about his immense indefatigable efforts to bring statesmen together, to remove the causes of international misunderstanding. For sole reward he had to live to see the noble structure of emerging world peace shattered by the criminal attacks of men of mean spirit, mean intelligence, elevated to power by their freedom from the moral restraint and human charity upon which any decent civilization must rest.

Did Mr. Levinson see the light of life fading with despair in his heart? Inside of the almost incredible energy of his personality a friend could discern a wisdom that saw beyond the present phase of world-wide disaster. Mr. Levinson knew that of the three gangster-led nations, Italy was bound soon to crack up. She is cracking up. He knew that Japan was drawing nearer and nearer to the limit of her powers, and was destined to sink back into her old isolation. She is sinking back. She still boasts her overweening hopes, like a demented mother carrying a block of wood for a dead babe at her breast. Hitler is still defying high Heaven, which as of old has its thunderbolts in reserve.

High Heaven is little concerned with time. It may be this year, or next, or ten years from now: world crime is doomed. And when it is prostrate, trodden under by avenging feet, the world will resume the work Mr. Levinson launched so valiantly and carried forward so magnificently. We will outlaw war, in spite of the devil and the dictators, and build a world in which man may live free and at peace.

A Prophet Honored at Home and Abroad

PRESTON BRADLEY

The old adage, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country," does not always hold true. For fifty years Chicago has known, esteemed, and revered one of its most distinguished and influential citizens, Mr. S. O. Levinson. He was more than a citizen of Chicago and even of this nation, for his name is internationally known as the originator of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. I knew Mr. Levinson intimately for over twenty years. He has been a guest in my home, where we have discussed at length the tragic world which he hoped his previous labors would have prevented. Mr. Levinson was born in Noblesville, Indiana, on the 29th of December, 1865. His father had emigrated to this country from Germany. In Noblesville Mr. Levinson spent his boyhood, and there he was graduated from the Noblesville High School. He was graduated from Yale in 1888, and three years later was given an LL.B. degree at Lake Forest. He was admitted to the Bar in 1891, and ever since that day has been a practicing attorney in Chicago. His former partners in the practice of law included Federal Judge John P. Barnes, former United States Senator Otis F. Glenn, and Jerome Frank.

While Mr. Levinson himself specialized in the reorganization of railroads and industrial organizations and had a nation-wide reputation in the field of corporation law, he was never too busy to lend his genius and his knowledge to many people who were unable to pay his customary fees—cases which were insignificant to every one but those in need. His activity in international relations started during the first year of the World War, when he made a heroic effort to persuade pro-ally and pro-German leaders to unite in a peace demand. He was able to create such a favorable reaction among all sides of loyalty in the first year of that World War, and while we were still the neutral nation, that cables to the members of the warring nations were sent, which attempted to persuade them to seek a basis immediately for a negotiated settlement. He saw then and thoroughly believed that a negotiated peace could only be made between equals; that if the war progressed until one side or the other was hopelessly near defeat, it would be the stronger side which would dictate and negotiate the peace.

After we entered the war and until the Armistice, Mr. Levinson devoted almost his entire time to studying out a program which would make a repetition of the great World War an impossibility. He surrounded himself with a staff of research workers, historical experts, economists, and industrialists. After the war he first supported America's entry into the League of Nations, but as the final arrangement under the League of Nations did not incorporate in the League Covenant a plan for the outlawing of war, he became a bitter enemy of the whole League of Nations idea. He then set to work to organize public opinion against the Versailles Treaty. In 1920 he backed the Presidential candidacy of Warren T. Harding, and he was successful in introducing into the Harding addresses his plan for the outlawry of war. In 1921 he was hard at work with the American delegation to the Disarmament Conference. He had spent the months before the conference in close association with the late Senator Philander C. Knox, and through their deliberations and study they were able to present the Knox-Levinson Outlawry of War Plan to the Disarmament Conference. This was the first time in history that war was really thought of as an institution which could be legally outlawed, and which nations would agree to outlaw just as they have outlawed duelling and made murder a criminal offense; war to be considered a criminal offense and the nation guilty of war to be treated as a criminal nation. The idea of the plan swept the world and during the next few years Mr. Levinson persuaded William E. Borah of the merit of the outlawry of war idea, and Senator Borah became active in the campaign, speaking all over the United States and writing many articles in favor of the plan. Mr. Levinson also coöperated with Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor of *The Christian Century,* which is probably America's most influential religious journal, and that magazine, with a national circulation among the moulders of public opinion, gave the plan every coöperation and was an important factor in the final acceptance of the plan by all the major nations of the world and most of the smaller ones.

In 1925 he urged American entry into the World Court and then two years later he went to Europe where he worked hard for the cause which was close to his heart: the cause of peace. There he aided in drafting what was later the Kellogg-Briand Pact, in which he had the coöperation of the late Senator Kellogg and also Briand of France, together with other important persons in the nations of Europe, all of whom he came to know, all of whom esteemed his idea, and all of whom recognized his sincerity. On the day of the ratification of the Kellogg-Briand Pact by the United States, Mr. Levinson was a guest in the White House.

In 1929 Mr. Levinson gave $50,000 to the University of Idaho, to establish the William Edgar Borah Outlawry of War Foundation, and in 1930 his name was proposed as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

One of the plans brought forward by him, which is not as well known as it ought to be, and which probably any plan that has to do with international debts when such a plan is fully matured will have to incorporate, was his plan for the adjustment of German reparations and war debts, which attracted world-wide consideration in 1927. It called for a six billion-dollar bond issue to be floated as a world loan to Germany, and the turning over from them of four billion dollars to the United States as payment in full to the United States of all war debts owed this country. The United States was also to be paid 250 million, 1918-19 costs of the American Army of Occupation, and another two hundred million was to pay Germany's debt on the Dawes' reparation loan. The balance, slightly more than one billion, five hundred million, was to be used in stabilizing currencies and for other necessary costs and adjustments. There is very little use in going backward to the tragic yesterdays of this world, and realizing the mistakes which were made. It is too late now, but this plan had within it the virtue of creating a far different world than we now have, and this whole present tragedy might have been avoided.

In 1937 he gave the University of Chicago 50,000 documents showing the growth of the outlawry of war

idea, and telling of his activities with the statesmen and three Presidents of the United States; and in 1939 he gave another similar collection to the University. These important documents will become increasingly significant as time goes on. Mr. Levinson was interested in many philanthropic enterprises and contributed to the magazine, *Poetry*, as well as establishing annual prizes for poems published in that valuable little magazine founded by Harriet Monroe. He was decorated with the French Legion of Honor in 1934; in 1931 he was given the Rosenberger medal of the University of Chicago, for his work in improving international relations. He was the author of "Aggression, International" for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences; and in the last visit which I had with him, he outlined the plan in which he was tremendously interested for the feeding of the starving children and people of Europe.

The nation has lost one of its most valuable citizens, and the world one of the sanest, most rational minds in the whole effort of peace. Undoubtedly the tragic world situation weighed heavily upon his mind and heart; and almost the last sentence he spoke to me was: "I hope to live long enough to see this world at peace again." Well, the world is not at peace and it may be a long time before it knows peace, but peace has come to the heart and mind and soul of S. O. Levinson.

A Prophetic Spirit

LOUIS L. MANN

During my college years I studied rather intensively the lives and the messages of the prophets of Israel. It was very hard for me to visualize them. Often, in later years, when I enjoyed the close friendship of Salmon O. Levinson, I frequently said to myself, "Now I understand the prophets of Israel." They were unique in many ways. Though always in the minority and sometimes standing alone, they were undaunted and undismayed. When they were ridiculed, they compensated with a deepened sense of consecration. When temporary followers gave up "the lost cause," they clung to it with a courage that was contagious and a tenacity that inspired reverence. They had not only sight but insight, as well. They could not only see things as they were, but were inspired by things as they ought to be. A thousand and one details could not obstruct the essential pattern of life as they envisaged the possibilities of the human spirit. What, ultimately, was basic in life? Their answer was the Divinity *above* and the Divinity *within* man. They emphasized the dignity of human life. They reverenced the inviolability of the human spirit. They sanctified human personality. They were "one-track minds" only in the sense that they knew the difference between cosmos and chaos. They abhorred war; they stood in reverence for human freedom; they loathed idolatry in all of its forms; they had no patience with superstition; they pitied those who went through the motions without getting to the heart of the matter; external forms meant nothing to them, in fact, less than nothing; the spirit meant everything. Man, unlike the brute, man dreamer of dreams, man seer of visions, man aspiring to the heights, man plumbing the depths, man the helper of man, man the brother, man the friend, man the "co-worker with God"—these explained the passion of their soul.

The Hebrew word for prophet, "Nabi," meant to "bubble over" with righteous indignation. The prophet was equally capable of unending pity. Though his was "a voice crying in the wilderness," and his own day and own age often failed to appreciate him, future generations were guided by his vision.

Salmon O. Levinson to me was the incarnation of this prophetic spirit; he was its embodiment, its personification. He loved his fellow man "with a love that was more than a love." His great and abiding passion was for peace. From Isaiah to Levinson, prophetic spirits have abhorred the utter and needless devastation which is once again plaguing the world. Some sixty-three nations gave lip-service to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which was his mental child, for which he gave generously of his time and means, and which he so modestly and so self-effacingly handed over to those in official positions, hoping to save a threatened world from utter ruin.

The world has not yet learned to outlaw war, as he so ardently desired. His immediate contribution therefore to our day is a contribution to the history of ethics rather than to the history of international relations. The nations of the world have, because of him, learned to *speak* of international relations ethically. The norm —the ideal—must come first. It often precedes the actual practice by a generation or more.

Mr. Levinson's ethical contribution is a necessary forerunner and, as such, will be a contributing influence to the outlawry of war when in the future—and we hope a not too distant future—"nations will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks," realizing "that the work of righteousness shall be peace and the effect thereof quietness and security forever."

Like Moses of old, he did not live to see the realization of his dream. But, he never lost faith that man would not forever grovel in the mire of force, aggression, brutality and war. Among the great of the earth who grappled with the greatest of all evils on earth, Salmon O. Levinson will always be remembered. So to live is not to die.

Though I have made it a rule of my life to use as few superlatives as possible, I am constrained to use a number of them today.

I have never visited a more cultured home.

I have never known a more devoted husband to a wife equally devoted.

I have never known a more understanding father.

I have never known a more loyal friend.

I have never known a more passionate advocate of peace.

With Hamlet I can truly say, "I shall not look upon his like again."

The Foundation of an Enduring World Order

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON

My acquaintance with Mr. Levinson began in 1922. It arose out of his acquaintance with *The Christian Century*. He sensed in that paper's critical and skeptical attitude toward America's participation in the League of Nations that the mind of its editor was groping for some constructive alternative. Began then a friendship both personal and ideological which drew me into the orbit of his great mind and bore fruit in countless editorials advocating the outlawry of war, as well as a book, published in 1927, bearing that title.

My share in the promotion and interpretation of this, his master preoccupation for fifteen years, gave me a rare opportunity not only to observe but to participate in the never-resting vitality and fertility of his mind. Statesmen, educators, churchmen, and other men and women of international outlook were attracted to his thesis as providing a new base line from which America could make a new start in discharging her international responsibility. The United States had declined to assume this responsibility in terms of a forcible guaranty of existing national territories. Yet the conscience of our people was an uneasy one. Throughout our history we had been trained in the school of international idealism. We could not justify a self-centered isolationism.

But if the League seemed to offer no satisfactory framework for the exercise of our moral responsibility, what had we to propose? Mr. Levinson's answer was the outlawry of war. I do not think he ever considered the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact as a finality. It was, as I have said, a new base line. He and those of us who were close to him, conceived it not as an achievement which would establish peace automatically, but as a new orientation calling for the development of pacific and effective policies leading to closer association of the nations.

In these days when it is the vogue in British and American pro-League circles to lay the guilt of the League's failure upon America's non-participation, I cannot resist answering with a *tu quoque*. It is my belief that British diplomacy lost an immeasurably promising opportunity to create a peacemaking solidarity between herself and us by her failure to invest with significance the outlawry of war as embodied in the Pact of Paris. The Pact was America's own, born in an American mind, negotiated by an American statesman, confirmed by the American Senate with only one dissenting vote.

Whatever skepticism, or even cynicism, British statesmen might have entertained as to the realism of the renunciation of war by the sixty-three sovereign powers of the world, diplomatic strategy should have prompted them to play it up, to act upon it in the first two crises in which it was sought by our government to apply it. Instead, British diplomacy failed to support President Hoover and Secretary Stimson in the Russian and the Manchurian episodes, with the result that a golden opportunity to develop the Pact under the leadership of Britain, France, and America was lost. The development of the Pact by actually utilizing it afforded the line of least resistance for the recovery of the United States from the slough of isolationism. If nothing else had come of it, it would have cemented British and American solidarity on lines congenial to both as nothing else could do.

From the standpoint of my affection for Mr. Levinson, I could wish this might have happened. It would have been the crown of his years, the fulfillment of his great dream. Despite the vast irony which a whole world at war now pours upon the idea of the outlawry of war, it is still my conviction that Mr. Levinson laid the only foundation upon which an enduring world order can be built, whatever be the shape and height of the superstructure which future statesmen may erect upon it.

Origin of the Kellogg-Briand Pact

HARRISON BROWN

It is just twenty years since I first heard of Salmon O. Levinson. Somebody had sent me, from England, the reprint of one of his earlier articles calling for the outlawry of war. At the end of the day's journey I sat down in the dingy Café de la Gare of a small town in France and wrote a letter into the blue, to the author of the article which had so much excited me. It was probably the first letter I had ever addressed to America, it certainly was the first time I had ever felt impelled to write to the author of an article.

Weeks passed and in the hurry of my wandering life I had almost forgotten my offer to translate Mr. Levinson's article and try to get it into the French press. Then suddenly, as though a long fuse had finally reached the charge, there burst into my hands an answer, from Chicago. I not only had consent, I had wholehearted encouragement, suggestions, advice as to how to go about it, the whole most evidently backed by a brimming enthusiasm such as I had rarely encountered.

From that day until his death I was never for long out of touch with that dynamic enthusiasm. Some years later my travels took on a wider radius and another purpose, his purpose. The European Continent became my workshop, because he knew that it was there, if anywhere in those days, that the spectre of war as national policy must first be laid.

There were delays and misunderstandings, rebuffs without number, there was always ridicule. But Mr. Levinson kept on. He kept on at a pace which would have killed most men and did indeed exhaust some. War was the enemy, concentration his dynamo, and enthusiasm the driving belt which transmitted some of his energy to those around him.

And then one day, an incredibly short time after his campaign started, we sat in Briand's antechamber at the Quai d'Orsay. It was not our first visit, rather was it nearly the last of many times we sat there. We had been talking most of the night: the time had come, thought Mr. Levinson, for something concrete.

"Got any paper?" he asked. I pulled some letters from my pocket.

"That envelope will do," he said. He seized it and for a few moments wrote busily.

"Here's how it should run, I think. How does this sound?"

It "sounded" so well that, with a preamble to steer it and a mass of signatures to follow, the words he wrote became the two articles of the first international treaty, the so-called Kellogg Pact.

We were naive in those days of course. We were all naive, both those who thought the Pact sufficient as it stood and those who wanted teeth in it. We were almost all alike naive because we almost all believed that a society based on cut-throat rivalry could disregard its nature.

Two things stand out, however. First the astounding fact of the Pact's existence. None who know the story can deny that Mr. Levinson accomplished something that no other man has done. Other great individuals have influenced legislation, and from purely altruistic motives. Individuals have at times played an outstanding role in bringing two nations together. But there is no record of an individual unknown in the world of diplomacy, forcing the world's most expert jugglers in that field to accept what they least wanted and most feared, a Pact expressing the desires of humanity. Regarded solely as an achievement, Mr. Levinson's accomplishment is unique.

The second outstanding fact is the peg from which that achievement hangs. Assuredly it detracts in nowise from his work to say that the fruits of that work expressed a general instinct. It was his to formulate an idea and to put it over. He showed his calibre in developing the idea while insanity still raged, and his tenacity in holding to it when landmarks seemed to fade. And having these qualities, he was enabled to see his work take shape and his idea enshrined because, when their passions cooled, the instinct of millions saw in it what they needed.

It is the fashion now, I suppose, to say that the idea was silly and the achievement useless. I do not agree. Always in the affairs of man the idea comes first; then, after many failures, comes the fact to crystallize the idea. The first wheel would not have rolled a modern train nor the first boat crossed an ocean. Both were revolutions in the brief space of man's development, and in that development the human factor has failed a million times but never yet fatally for the race.

Mr. Levinson sought to introduce a revolution in man's dealings with his fellows. History may show that his invention, too, was crude in design. It will remain, nevertheless, a mighty contribution, and something of it will be embedded in the finished product. For, in a fumbling age, Mr. Levinson felt what all must learn—that man must coöperate, or die.

"He Will Always Live in the Present Tense"

PAUL HUTCHINSON

I find it impossible to write about Mr. Levinson in the past tense. I had intended to start this brief recollection with a sentence beginning, "Mr. Levinson was. . . ." But the words will not come. I simply cannot think of Mr. Levinson as someone that *was*. I do not think I have ever known a person more alive, and as I think of him now I find that I am thinking of him as an active, indefatigable, living force. To me, at least, he will always live in the present tense.

Even during those last months, when his heart had so nearly played out on him, he continued to be absorbed in the life of the moment. When you went to see him, although it was altogether too clear how sick a man he was, and although he would generally start the conversation with impatience at the slowness of his recovery, within a few minutes he would be off in full flight in another direction. Something that Senator So-and-So should be told; something that should be brought to the attention of the editors of such-and-such a newspaper; something that this organization or that government official should be trying out—that was the way his mind worked. His body had become pitifully weak, but the part of him that counted was keeping up its ceaseless drive, and with the usual number of revolutions per minute.

As I think back over the differing relationships in which I have known him—and I was fortunate in that they were so many and so varied—I am amazed again at the infinite resourcefulness of his mind and the resilience of his spirit. He accomplished some remarkable things during the period in which I could watch him most closely. They were the more remarkable because he was generally operating alone, or at the most with the help of only a handful of individuals. I am content to let others talk about those accomplishments in this memorial number of UNITY. What I think of is the times when he failed. For there were such times, many of them, as there are bound to be for men who attempt as much as he did in as many new directions. Yes, he would get a new idea; he was sure it was a *tremendous* new idea; and he would go at it hammer-and-tongs—and fail. Then what? I never knew him to require as much as twenty-four hours to evolve some new plan, some new method of approach, some new means for reaching the same end. And by the time his mental resourcefulness had supplied him with the new approach, his resilient spirit had pushed the disappointment into the past and he was ready to bounce right back into the fray.

The work which he did in laying the foundations for the Pact of Paris has a far greater permanent importance for international law than is recognized at the moment, and I trust that somewhere in this number that will be adequately pointed out. But greater than his work was his spirit. No; I must write that sentence again. Greater than his work *is* his spirit. For one can feel that spirit just as living a force today as it ever was.

William Edgar Borah Foundation for the Outlawry of War

HARRISON DALE

There was appropriate rejoicing in Idaho in April, 1929, when the press reported that Salmon O. Levinson of Chicago had honored Idaho's beloved senior United States Senator, William Edgar Borah, by establishing the Borah Foundation at the University of Idaho. Mr. Levinson's generous gift of $50,000 made this possible. Officially the Foundation was designated as the William Edgar Borah Foundation for the Outlawry of War. He created the Foundation, Mr. Levinson said, "in recognition of the priceless contribution of Senator Borah to the cause of world peace through his advocacy of the outlawry of war ideal and also out of deep admiration and friendship for him." Thus was established here in Senator Borah's home state of Idaho a medium for the promotion of a better understanding of international relations.

Without doubt Senator Borah had been the leading statesman advocating this movement. That Idaho should be the home of such a leader was something of which the state could be proud and it demonstrated that pride when the Foundation was announced. That the University of Idaho should be selected as the recipient of the Foundation also was gratifying and appropriate, for it was here in 1896 that Mr. Borah, then an ambitious but relatively unknown young attorney, delivered the very first University of Idaho commencement address. The graduating class numbered but four students.

People of Idaho were relatively well informed on Senator Borah's activities on behalf of world peace. They were not so well acquainted with Mr. Levinson, and the announcement of his gift brought to the University scores of inquiries about him. Who was he? What was he like? Idahoans were very much interested in anyone who thought so much of their senior senator that he would give $50,000 to honor him. For some time the University was busy telling people of the state about Mr. Levinson's activities, how conscientious he was in the study of international problems, and how generously he had given of his time and resources to foster the cause of world peace. Our efforts answered the most urgent questions about Mr. Levinson, but not until Senator Borah himself paid tribute to the donor of the Foundation did we get a true picture of the man. During the course of his remarks at the inauguration of the Foundation in September, 1931, Senator Borah said:

> It has been my pleasure and to my great advantage to know Mr. S. O. Levinson for many years. We met for the first time in the interesting days immediately following the World War. All were thinking at that time of peace, talking and writing of peace, and devising plans with the great hope of making peace effective and permanent. There were many views, many plans, some visionary, some dangerous, some sound, all, no doubt, sincerely urged. In the multitude of workers in the cause of peace there were none more earnest, more unselfish, none who held a truer grip on the vast problem than S. O. Levinson. Others were more in the public eye but none contributed more to the laying of the foundation upon which peace must ultimately rest. A lawyer by profession, engaged in active practice, daily advising in large business affairs, yet he found time for the great cause which was nearest his heart. The time and study he gave to the subject was extraordinary. His enthusiasm drove him past all obstacles, and his restless and well-trained mind seemed to find inspiration rather than discouragement in the many questions which the problem presented. He was the first within my knowledge to reach the daring conclusion that war as an institution could and should be outlawed, placed beyond the pale or recognition of international law. His conception of peace was to condemn and renounce the use of force in international relations. A peculiar and exceptional glory attaches to his name by reason of this fact. In this view he long stood alone, but he labored untiringly.

In 1931, Manley O. Hudson, professor of international law at Harvard University, delivered a series of four addresses at the University of Idaho under the auspices of the Foundation. These addresses attracted such wide attention they were promptly published in book form under the title, *Progress in International Organization.* In March, 1938, the Foundation brought Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to the campus to speak on "Peace."

Dark as is the present outlook for world peace, the generosity of Salmon O. Levinson will bear fruit again, for no better argument can be found for the principles and purposes he espoused than the present condition of affairs in a world that continues to employ war as a means of settling international disputes.

A Truly Great Man

WILLIAM TRUFANT FOSTER

Salmon O. Levinson was dominated and driven by powers and passions which made him a truly great man. Indeed, such a union is a useful definition of genius.

First among the essentials is such an overpowering zeal for a cause that the crusader loses himself in the cause. The fact that Mr. Levinson thus lost himself is written into the history of the so-called Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. For many years Mr. Levinson journeyed from one country to another and back again, patiently, persistently, persuasively expounding his program for world peace to the leaders of world politics; but when his work culminated in an agreement of nearly all nations, Mr. Levinson was content to have all the credit go to his disciples.

Such a combination of traits, however, is not uncommon: there are tens of thousands of men and women who find life, and find it more abundantly, by losing themselves in a great cause. This is a characteristic of youth.

Little results, however, from such unselfish zeal without sustained hard work. Mr. Levinson fought his good fight with prodigious, undiminished power, well beyond the allotted Biblical three-score years and ten.

To be sure, thousands of men and women in our time

have worked for the common good with self-effacement and persistence; but not one in a thousand has had the keenness of mind which is necessary for leadership in virgin fields. That keenness was one secret of Mr. Levinson's early success as a corporation lawyer. No one could talk with him long on any subject without sensing that power.

All these qualities and abilities put together, however, do not account for his world leadership. He could not have gone so far without sustained enthusiasm. While he went on, with increased zeal, over steep, hot, dusty roads, he left behind him, resting in the shade, thousands of tired liberals. Even when the world went mad, he was not disheartened. He, lonely in his generation, retained the spirit of youth.

His enthusiasm was contagious. Scarcely anybody could resist it. He went up and down the earth, like the prophets of old, exposing error, preaching brotherly love, denouncing timidity in high places, restoring faith, breathing fire. Thousands upon thousands of men shared his insight and his courage. Thus, for generations to come, the work of the world for justice and for peace will continue to be inspired by the memory of Salmon O. Levinson.

"A Realist with an Idealist's Aims"

M. E. TYDINGS

Salmon O. Levinson was a great man. He will live far beyond the span of his earthly years. His was a vision which looked over the horizon of the present. His enormous energies were expended in the promotion of universal good will in the creation of a brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God.

He absorbed information and facts quickly and possessed a resourcefulness for constructive action in any emergency. His long labors to create a better international good will and understanding have deservedly given him a place in the hearts of political leaders in many countries.

It was my pleasure to work with him many hours seeking a solution to the war debt problem, the depreciation of international currencies, the elimination of tariff embargoes, and in support of world disarmament. I found Mr. Levinson a realist with an idealist's aims. He was a mighty supporter of any cause. The statute to outlaw wars as an instrument of international policy became a reality largely through the splendid groundwork which he performed.

Rarely have I met a man who, while advocating a cause in which he intensely believed, had so rich an understanding of the possibilities and limitations of substantial and lasting human progress. Rarely have I met a man who continued to be so enthusiastic and energetic in pursuing his aims to their logical end.

But it was as a friend that I knew him best. There were times when I would see him often and then long periods would ensue when I would neither see him nor hear from him. Such was his enthusiasm that although much time had passed since last we talked, we would begin our conversations as if we had just discontinued them but ten minutes before.

He loved humanity. He fought for justice. He longed for international peace and good will. He will be missed because what he gave was for the general welfare and it was unselfishly given. He expressed in thought and action those attributes which are the finest of which humans are capable. The world has all too few Salmon O. Levinsons, but the world is the better because it at least had this one.

Physically he has passed on but spiritually what he stood for and what he helped so mightily to bring into fuller flower will live forever in the hearts of civilized men.

Funeral Address

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

We have come together, dear friends, in this appropriate place, and at this quiet afternoon hour, to do homage to one who was our beloved friend—a beloved friend, and more than a beloved friend. A distinguished lawyer, a great citizen, a servant and supporter of all good causes of enlightenment and progress, a public leader of national and international renown and influence, a counselor of governments, of premiers and presidents, a conceiver and projector of high principles of politics and programs of statesmanship which, too early for their time in this distracted and desperate world, will yet endure as the foundation of that social fabric of world order and world law which shall at last banish forever man's primal curse of war! And more than these—a good man, honest and steadfast, valiant and brave, tender and true, "the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, This was a man."

There are various things that I should like to say to you on this solemn and sacred and not altogether unhappy occasion. I say, not unhappy, for it lifts the soul to contemplate in another its own fulfillment.

Thus, if I were thinking only of myself, or if we were gathered in the intimacy of some little group of friends and confidants in a library or parlor, I might tell you what this man did for me. How, in an hour of dire extremity, he came to me, like a father to a son, and through the sacrifice of unstinted time and strength, unmeasured labor and incredible patience, and the vast skill and knowledge of his profession, all freely offered "without money and without price," through a period of four years and over a distance of a thousand miles, saved me and my church from irreparable ruin! But if I should tell you this, then

you, and you, and you here present, would rise up instinctively to tell your tale of what this man did for you, and we should never be done. So I clasp my treasure of remembrance to my bosom, cherish it and guard it in the secret places of my heart, as you do yours, and I join with you in counting ourselves together as members of the great company of those to whom this man gave the everflowing abundance of his life.

Or I might tell you the story of this man's career, from its beginning as the son of a Jewish merchant in a little Midwestern town, to its final eminence here in this city and in the nation at large. There would be two volumes to this biography. First, the story of his personal career, in which, with enormous success, he rose high but never through another's fall, gained much but never through another's loss, climbed far aloft but never through casting another down. All that he won and held was but a meagre token of what he gave in failures redeemed, losses recovered, and broken fortunes and lives restored. As a second volume there would be the story of his public career, which was the mere carrying over into the general world of the pattern of his success in his professional world. He tried to put a broken world together again—to reëstablish a bankrupt social system in terms not of surrender to any evil, or appeasement of any wrong, but rather of abiding reorganization and reconstruction. Here, while he did not complete, he at least began, a work which will yet be finally and triumphantly accomplished, and then will he be gratefully remembered as one of the outstanding peacemakers of mankind. But this biography must be written, not spoken; and pondered in the long leisure of the library, not heard hurriedly in the short ceremony of this hour.

No, what I shall tell you is not what this man did, but what he was. A man of such infinite variety!

Here was an energy of life which, like a rushing flood, overwhelmed all obstacles, overcame all opposition, and yet was never cruel or unkind.

Here was a masterful mind, which could analyze the most intricate problem into the simplest elements, yet never used its superior discernment to any selfish, least of all unscrupulous, advantage.

Here was a heart pure of offense, yet with not a trace of smugness or pretension.

Here was a proud man, like "the master workman who needeth not to be ashamed," and yet was so modest withal that he never nursed his own reputation or praise, but gladly left to others to receive and enjoy the acclaim which he had won.

Here was a man of passionate conviction, and yet with not a vestige of prejudice or intolerance.

He held to his opinions with an almost terrible sincerity and intensity, yet trusted and loved with an equal favor those who agreed or disagreed with his ideas.

He had purposes which were unconquerable, and by sheer power of will he wrought his public works, yet was he never touched by arrogance or scorn.

He experienced amazing gamuts of emotion. I have seen him rage with fury at injustices in the world's conduct and absurdities in men's ideas; and then within a few hours, I have seen him melted to tears by the cadence of a speech, a casual strain of music, or the story of someone's deep distress.

His zest for life and his range of interest in life's events were limitless. He was absorbed in his profession, yet he was a devotee of music, a lover of literature, and a scholar. He could follow a baseball game, a political speech, a Toscanini concert, and a Shakespeare drama with an equal enthusiasm and appreciation.

He loved play, and relished work; he was an idealist, and also a realist; he was a dreamer of dreams and a seer of visions, and yet a man of unfailing practicality; he was a lover of and a glad associate with all sorts and conditions of men, but was bound to none in tribal, sectarian, or party interest.

But why do I go on, dipping up buckets from an inexhaustible spring? Five years ago on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, I wrote a tribute to Mr. Levinson which began with these words: "I want to testify to you alive, as I would testify to others if you were dead." May I read, therefore, in summary of all that I would say, a part of what I wrote on this anniversary occasion:

"You are a *great man*—greater than any fame you have ever won. You are great in your magnificent energy, in your superb intellectual power, in your vast capacity for achievement, and in your high purpose and noble ideals. You have encountered no task in your life which you have not been able to master, met no man of whom you were not the peer. I have loved to think of the great posts of public duty you might, and should have occupied, and never one which was not less than the measure of your vitality and ability. You are perhaps greatest in the fact that you do not know that you are great. For your vigor has no arrogance, your power no pride, your labors no thirst for praise.

"But you are not only a great man—you are what is more and better, a *good man*. You are good in your utter selflessness, your unstinting generosity, your overflowing friendship, your pure and noble heart. You are good as few strong and great men are good, and I shall love you for it till I die."

And now has come the end—and yet, not the end! It is inconceivable to me that such energy as animated this life is spent—that such a light as flamed from out this spirit has been quenched in darkness perpetual. Mr. Levinson's last months were pitiful—that superb strength, slowly breaking into weakness and infirmity. His last hours were dreadful—that vain struggle to save him for his own dear sake, and for ours who would possess him still. But this is only one side of the picture—one shore of the sea.

Do you remember the passage in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* where is described the death of Mr. Valiant-for-Truth? Bunyan tells how Mr. Valiant-for-Truth was suddenly "taken with a summons"; and the passage goes on, as follows: "And when he understood it, he called for his friends and said: I am going to my fathers . . . My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me." A great company of men and women followed Mr. Valiant-for-Truth to the river, and he entered the dark waters and passed through. And when he emerged, writes Bunyan, *"the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."*

Listen! Can you not hear them? Those trumpets on the ramparts of God's city, sounding their silver song as for a king come back victorious from the wars?

Letters

I

It is with deep regret that we have learned of the death of your husband. I write to express on behalf of Yale University our sincere sympathy.

CHARLES SEYMOUR, *President.*

New Haven, Connecticut.

II

I was greatly shocked by the death of Mr. Levinson. He was one of the noblest citizens of this city and of the country as a whole, and his life was one of devotion to the public good. It was one of the joys of my life to count him as a friend and I mourn with you in his loss.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, *University of Chicago.*

Chicago, Illinois.

III

The news of your husband's death came to me as a tremendous shock. I have been worried about him since you called me on the telephone, but as I had heard from him by mail since then, and he spoke of feeling better, I had hoped that immediate danger was past. He was full of energy, ideas, and new plans almost up to the last.

I felt that I came to know him rather well during these last few years. The better acquainted I became, the more I admired his essential humanity, his understanding, and his energy to give effect to the highest ideals. He has left an indelible impression upon this city, the nation, and the world. While his work for peace seems for the moment to have been overridden by the pressure of events, I am sure that the influence of the idea of outlawing war and of the Pact of Paris will live on.

Mrs. Wright and I, both of us, want you to know how much we valued him.

QUINCY WRIGHT, *University of Chicago.*

Chicago, Illinois.

IV

May I join you and your children in your deep sorrow over the passing of Salmon. To me, it was a shock to learn of his going because I had not known of his illness. We are so terribly out of touch with things, here in California.

The world and the United States have lost a great citizen. Intensely loyal, as he was, to his own country, the reaches of his soul extended beyond national boundaries and encompassed the people of the earth.

I was proud to be his classmate and friend.

AMOS ALONZO STAGG, *College of the Pacific.*

Stockton, California.

V

This morning's press brings the sad news of the death of your husband. It is a great personal loss to me. I counted him as one of the best friends I had won in a lifetime, as well as one of the greatest public figures I have known. From what his loss means to me I have some sense of what it must mean to you and your children. Please accept my deepest sympathy.

In the period between wars there were three men who never forgot the danger of the second world war and who gave everything they had to make the second war avoidable—Levinson, Briand, and Stresemann. They failed; but there is a deeper sense in which they did not fail. They blazed a path other statesmen must follow when the present anguish of war is over. They proved that three men of dauntless spirit could move this great brute world, even if they did not succeed in moving it enough. Mr. Levinson's work was the most remarkable, because he worked as a private citizen.

However crushing the blow of his death, we should take heart from the thought that Salmon O. Levinson had made his place in the history of our times. Death is always terrible; but when it comes in the ripeness of years, with a rich harvest of good works, works of far-reaching and growing importance, one should perhaps make truce with grief and contemplate the mystery of an immortality evinced by a soul that marches on.

ALVIN JOHNSON, *New School of Social Research.*

New York, N. Y.

VI

Mrs. Reed joins me in the expression of sincerest sympathy for you and all the members of your family. Your loss is irreparable but you must find some solace in the fact that the distinguished and patriotic services of Salmon O. Levinson had established his name among the great men of our generation.

JAMES A. REED, *Ex-Senator.*

Kansas City, Missouri.

VII

It was my privilege to know, by correspondence, your distinguished husband. The fact is that in the last year we had a very extensive correspondence on public issues. He wrote me a letter on Friday, January 31st, which reached me today. The letter showed the enormous activity of his mind, and, curiously enough, it extended down to the meticulous correction of words and spelling in a long memorandum that he had written two days before. I shall prize this correspondence beyond measure. It is a great blessing to retain such intellectual vitality up to the last moment.

RAYMOND MOLEY.

New York, N. Y.

VIII

I was very sorry to learn of the death of Salmon O. Levinson. As you know, I was privileged to get acquainted with him through the complicated affairs of Ten Park Avenue. Like everyone else, we are proud of his fine work for humanity.

LOUIS H. PINK, *Superintendent of Insurance.*

New York, N. Y.

IX

I was shocked when I picked up my morning paper and read of Mr. Levinson's passing. What a tremen-

dous loss we have all suffered, not only yourself who will feel it more keenly than any one else, not only his close and intimate friends, not only the community in which he lived, and his country, but all the civilized world. For he had become truly a world figure. If the peoples of Europe could have had his vision how different the world would be today and how much of human misery and suffering would have been saved; could he have lived a few years more, perhaps he could have contributed to a settlement which would bring a lasting peace.

To you, of course, he was much more than a world figure. He had been a loving companion for many long years. While we mourn his loss, our hearts go out in sympathy to you whose loss is so much greater.

JUDGE W. H. HOLLY.

Chicago, Illinois.

X

So our prophet leader, your great husband and my dearest friend, has passed over the Great Divide! All this day since the *word* came, my thought has been of you in obedience to this great truth "Save your concern for the living, for unutterably blessed are the dead." Salmon O. Levinson fought a good fight, he kept the faith—and now he has found peace in the bosom of Our Father, and eternal fellowship with the noble and the great of all ages. But *you* have come upon the supreme loneliness possible to our human life, and this even though you have the abiding consolation of knowing that a dearer, nobler, wiser wife and mother never lived than thou hast ever been to thy beloved, and thy son his Benjamin—the light and hope of his advancing years.

In this hour of your overwhelming loss all words are vain. Your brave faith alone can bring to your sorrowing heart some consolation, this and the inner sense of his triumphing life and his creative service for all mankind.

It is for those who knew and loved him to be dedicated to the final fulfillment of his life's crowning achievement—the overthrow of the war system and the enthronement of that supreme liberation for all humanity—international peace. The outlawry of war is the idea, the Pact of Paris is the first step, a World Court with complete and final jurisdiction over all questions of international aggression is the second step, and an international police force provided and supported by the free peoples of the world, is the final step in this great fulfillment. We now know that there can be and are pirate-bandit nations as there have always been such individuals, and that the only answer to such is a decree of international law, supported by overwhelming moral and material force.

RAYMOND ROBINS.

Brooksville, Florida.

XI

The morning paper brings me the sad news of your dear husband's death. I know that you will receive thousands of communications from all over the world from people whose lives your husband has touched. It was my privilege, as you know, to see him on various occasions and one night he spent in my home. His vigorous intelligence and his magnificent dauntless idealism were unforgettable influences in a weary and spiritless world.

RABBI MORRIS S. LAZARON.

Baltimore, Maryland.

XII

With the death of your fine husband, a great man has gone from our midst. He was truly an idealist, blessed with an insight and understanding that few men are privileged to possess.

His constant fight for the abolition of war was an inspiration to all of us who knew him intimately. Even under adverse conditions, he could not possibly permit himself to think in terms of defeat. His courage was like an everflowing spring which moved him to levels of attainment which come to but a few men in a single generation.

Please convey my sincere sympathy to all the members of your family. They can be proud of your distinguished husband's accomplishments and usefulness in the world.

ARTHUR ANDERSEN.

Chicago, Illinois.

XIII

I was shocked to see the announcement in the morning paper of the death of your husband, my good friend.

Your husband was a man of great public spirit and an unselfish patriot, who worked unselfishly for the good of his country and humanity at large. I know of no man who has gone to such trouble and expense as he did in the last fifteen years in seeking to establish peace among the nations.

FRANK J. LOESCH.

Chicago, Illinois.

Telegraphic Messages

I

Levinson's dynamic idealism was eloquent and the force of his whole great-hearted and great-brained personality made an astonishing impression on me.

J. L. GARVIN, *Editor, London Observer.*

London, England.

II

I am greatly distressed to learn of the death of your distinguished husband who was a personal friend of long standing. His was a full life devoted to the highest ideals of useful citizenship. Not only did he make significant contributions to public affairs but he also was a generous and moving spirit in civic and humanitarian undertakings. His passing will be mourned by his many friends here and abroad. Mrs. Hull and I extend to you and to the family our deepest sympathy in your bereavement.

CORDELL HULL, *Secretary of State.*

Washington, D. C.

III

I am deeply grieved at the passing of your husband. He was a delightful counselor and friend and an extremely useful world citizen.

M. E. Tydings,
United States Senator from Maryland.

Washington, D. C.

IV

My deepest sympathy in your sad loss.

C. Oumansky, *Ambassador of USSR.*

Washington, D. C.

V

Deeply grieved over the sad news about Mr. Levinson. This is a great loss to the entire country, and indeed the world needed his leadership. Whatever the outcome of the present catastrophic crisis, world peace will eventually be established along the lines he advanced with so much courage, persistence, and devotion.

Judge Florence E. Allen.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

VI

One of God's noblemen has been taken. The world grieves with you. My love and heartfelt sympathy goes out to you and yours. You are a soldier brave and understanding.

Mary Borah (*Mrs. William E.*).

Washington, D. C.

VII

We are all saddened by the loss of a friend of the university and a friend of peace. I extend to you my deepest sympathy.

Robert M. Hutchins, *President,*
University of Chicago.

Chicago, Illinois.

VIII

University of Idaho extends sincere sympathy. The board of regents and the university have continuing reminder of Mr. Levinson's devotion to the cause of peace through his generous gift establishing Borah Foundation for the Outlawry of War. His life serves us all as a noble example of devotion to ideals through which alone civilization can survive.

Harrison Dale, *President,*
University of Idaho.

Moscow, Idaho.

IX

Shocked into profoundest sorrow. His prophetic spirit and creative mind will live in the institutions of our country, and the final liberation of mankind from the curse of war will crown his name with abiding honor throughout the world.

Raymond Robins,
Margaret Robins,
Lisa von Borowsky,
Lilly Brummerhof,
Fletcher Weston,
M. C. Chapman,
Margaret Harris.

Brooksville, Florida.

X

I have only just learned of Sol's death. Am deeply shocked. Please accept my deep sympathy and love. Your great loss is shared by his many friends. There is no man I loved and admired more.

John Dewey.

Key West, Florida.

XI

Our deepest sympathy goes to you in this passing from our midst of a great heart, a great mind, a great character. One of the elder statesmen of the world, he left his imprint on the minds of many, but for us as for many others he was the warm, stimulating, and always happy friend, "S. O." In his great simplicity we could forget his great achievements and move only in the circle of his abiding friendship.

William and Anne Hard.

Washington, D. C.

XII

Our tenderest sympathy to you in your great bereavement. Mr. Levinson gave with utter devotion so much of idealism and consecrated service to the world and our country that his death is a tremendous loss.

Mary Dreier,
Frances Kellor.

New York, N. Y.

XIII

In the passing of your dear husband the trustees and members of the Community Church of New York have lost a beloved and revered friend. We will ever remember with deep gratitude the noble and unselfish service he rendered our church.

Dominick F. Pachella,
Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

New York, N. Y.

XIV

Extend deepest sympathy on your loss which is indeed the loss of us all. May you find comfort in the great life which you and he made together, serving so nobly his family, his church, his friends, his profession, his country, and the world.

George E. Moesel,
Trustee, the Community Church.

New York, N. Y.

XV

Radio and press persist the prophet has been gathered to his fathers. In this hour of grief be comforted to know humanity will yet learn of him and call him blessed. We must think of a noble spirit not gone but set free from the limitations of time and space.

Mr. and Mrs. John E. Stoner.

Bloomington, Indiana.

XVI

I learn with profound sorrow of the death of your distinguished husband, who devoted unselfishly his brilliant talents in behalf of permanent world peace. God grant that his noble objective be finally realized. I enjoyed and valued his rare friendship.

John P. McGoorty.

Chandler, Arizona.

THE PACT OF PARIS

Article I. The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article II. The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.